2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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000 If one of the litigants was a Kota his headman would also take part in the council.

695 The proceedings would begin with statements from the contending parties. Male witnesses might then be brought to support these (566) statements. Females and serfs[8] never appeared before the councils, but if their evidence were considered important it would be heard in private by the headman in charge. Toreas could make statements and attend the meeting but used not to take an active part in the council's deliberations.

• (602) A man's family and lineage would normally support him in a dispute and provided the most usual 'witnesses'. Beside their (787) testimony other kinds of admissible evidence included written receipts, re-enactments of the event, oaths testifying to a man's innocence and pronouncements uttered by a god through the mouth of an entranced man. If necessary a postponement was allowed for additional evidence to be brought. Presentation of the evidence was followed by a council discussion, after which the headman in charge voiced his opinion and determined punishment. It was not unusual to punish both parties in a dispute.[10]

Crime and Punishment

681 The following partial list of punishments suggests the sanctions traditionally placed on various crimes:

Planned murder of an adult—hanging
Unpremeditated murder—Rs. 48 fine, or servitude to the victim's family
Causing someone to commit suicide—Rs. 48 fine
Failure to obey an important order of the headman—ostracism
Failure to pay a fine—ostracism
Rape of a father's wife—ostracism or Rs. 48 fine
Rape of a son's wife—Rs. 24 fine or less
Rape of a brother's wife—minimal fine
} Reduced if the woman had consented; i.e., adultery
Man beating victim with leather—Rs. 24 fine, or head shaved
Woman beating victim with boom—Rs. 24 fine, or made to parade through village with basket of ash on her head
Minor misdemeanour—bow down inside the circle of the council (the minimal punishment)
(762) Attempted suicide—not considered an offence.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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this purpose the fresh dung of a young cow which has never calved is preferred: Badagas can tell at a glance if it is the right kind of animal because it should digest its food well. Every four hours the therapist removes the thread, lets the pus flow, and when this stops puts the thread back in the hole. Several times a day, when the cowdung becomes too dry, a fresh coating of it is applied. The swelling should cure in two or three days by this method.

MELANOMA (*bippiri*)

6.3. If when the medicine is first applied the swelling is too big to be called a *ne:ga:le*, but it does not have a head on it, then it is a case of *bippiri*. This can in fact get started alongside a *ga : le*, if all the pus is not removed from the latter. The *bippiri* has to be treated with the bark of a tree (details unavailable).

752 GOITRE (*kaṇḍa ma:le*)

A goitre is punctured with red-hot needles; or else treated with thorn-apple. Other big swellings are usually cut off, especially if they fail to respond to the above-mentioned medicines. During the present century such surgery has been done with a razor, but before that a piece of broken bottle glass was used.

826
164
753 DEPIGMENTATION OF SKIN, OR VITILIGO (*sullu*)

6.4. Patches of white skin on the body are called *sullu*. This is a disease for which there is no medicine. It is caused by the bite of the blindworm (*Typhlops braminus*), even when the patient is unaware he has been bitten.

164 (*taddu*)

6.5. Another disease which causes dry light coloured patches on the facial skin is *taddu*. Before going to sleep patients put oil on these patches. There is also another treatment: a relative takes a piece of dry cowdung, and rubs or touches it against the patches, while saying a special formula. The important thing is for the relative to be of the opposite sex to the patient, mature but unmarried, and in the relationship of a classificatory spouse—someone the patient might later want to marry (Badagas are polygynous). As this person touches

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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the cowdung to the patches he says: "I am in the relation of sister's husband to you; medicine for *taddu*." In the case of a woman helper she would change the wording to: "I am related as a brother's wife to you . . ." The formula and the touching are done three times.

6.6. If similar patches occur elsewhere on the body they are not considered to be *taddu* and are treated differently, as itches. In the old days this cure involved grinding a leaf of chewing tobacco, mixing it with goat dung and water, and putting this onto the patchy skin where it would dry. If however the patch itself is not dry as in *taddu*, then it is given the more usual treatment for itch. (Two vegetables, the marrow and the red onion, will cause itching if eaten in large quantities).

6.7. Another skin disease is called *a : ne gajji* ("elephant sores"). These are big watery sores on parts of the body which the patient cannot see, such as the back or the cheek. To treat them *ka : vi kallu*, a brown stone, is ground up and mixed with water to form a paste. A sketch of an elephant is made with this on a piece of wood or nowadays slate, and the same paste is also applied to the watery sore once daily for at least three days, during which time it should not be washed off. Each time the paste is being applied the patient stares at the drawing; and he should also stare at it every ten or fifteen minutes during the entire period he is awake during the treatment. If the sore is especially big the paste will be applied morning and evening for several days. Care must be taken that no water falls on the paste. It is allowed to dry on the sore, and with the help of a fire if necessary. After three days the paste can be washed off, but if the sore is still evident another dose of the paste is applied for a few more days. During the entire period of the treatment the patient should not eat any chilies or salt.

ANGIONEUROTIC EDEMA (*a : ne gajji*)

6.8. Tinea affects the feet during the rainy season.

TINEA

175 614 already some kind of a status hierarchy amongst the various sibs, although it was possibly "looser" than it is in the present century (Harkness 1832: 112). These accounts also show a difference of opinion as to whether the Haruvas or the Wodeyas 175 615 were the highest group. Hough, in a letter published in the Bengal Hurkaru newspaper in November 1826, said of the Haruvas: "The first class wear the Brahminy thread, and are reverenced as the Neilgherry Brahmins." Thus the Haruva claim to superiority was already in the wind (Hough 1829: 88; cf. Ward 1821: lxxi). In 1830 Harkness found that

> ...the dissimilitude among most of these classes is too trifling to be worthy of remark. The least respected among them are a class [Toreyas] who, as well as being cultivators of the earth, also manufacture a coarse kind of sackcloth; other two of the classes are of the caste who wear the lingam, one [Wodeya] being superior, and qualified to officiate as priests to the whole of the others [Adikaris and Kapakkas]; and another of the classes [Haruvas] are repudiated Brahmans. These, however, still wear the sacerdotal string, and retain some privileges in the performance of their worship, but they are classed with the other people, and are without any pretensions to superiority over them. (Harkness 1832: 30-31)

582 562 (554) The second kind of explanation for the lack of concern about status congruence when arranging marriages is a structural one, for which there is considerable evidence. It is that the social status of any female is determined entirely (561) by the village in which she lives. Girls before puberty, like small boys, are regarded as pure, and for many purposes are treated as children of the entire village rather than of one particular set of parents. Thus small girls can enter sacred (841) places where no woman would be allowed. But once a girl has menstruated, and preferably before that, she should be married into another village, where she becomes identified with her husband's family and her status is determined only by the sib and the affluence of that family, never by the status of her own father. The 562 same attitude towards women is clearly reflected in the kinship system, where 602 582 generation level is an important feature in determining relationships. The

562 generation level of a woman is that of her husband, however, and can change as she
582 marries successive husbands from different generations. It is supposedly possible
602 for a single Badaga man to marry, either concurrently or sequentially, a woman and her daughter and her mother. All three co-wives would attain the generation level of their husband by this marriage. The Badaga outlook towards women is one that permits marriages even between hierarchically ranked sibs without there arising any thought of hypergamy being advantageous and hypogamy reprehensible. Such an attitude, let it be noted, is most unusual for an Indian society.

582 No Badaga should marry a girl related to him as a classificatory sister; that is, a mother's sister's daughter or a father's brother's daughter. Nor should he marry a girl related to him in a similar way, though the connection goes back a generation further: mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter, or else father's father's brother's son's daughter. Nor may a man marry his sister's daughter, a marriage permitted among some jatis elsewhere in South India. The general rule is that two people must not marry if they are in any way related through either a pair of brothers or a pair of sisters. The normal kinds of marriage are therefore with cross-cousins, either a father's sister's daughter or a
(604) mother's brother's daughter. However, because the mother's brother plays a very important part in a man's religious and social development, and because there is a great deal of interaction between him and his sister's son, it is felt that the mother's brother's daughter is more closely related to a man than his father's sister's daughter is. Amongst Badagas it is therefore generally thought that marriage with the father's sister's daughter is the best arrangement possible; not because a marriage with the mother's brother's daughter would in any sense be closer to incest, but simply because it would probably lead to a certain amount of quarreling

From these 19th Century descriptions several accounts might be culled of the process by which factional behavior starts. A much more recent illustration of faction-formation is preferable, however, because of the subjectivity in the early missionary writings. The case I have chosen is my summary of the informant's account (and, as in my other quotations from field-notes, the name used is fictitious).

"Early in 1963, when one hamlet was planning to stage a funeral, the headman asked every household to donate three meals for the visitors expected. One man, Raman, was requested to prepare four meals, either through mistake or for some unknown reason; and he did as asked, but only to find that nobody came to his house to eat them. Why this should be is not clear: apparently Raman was not a very pleasant person to get along with. He complained that the cost of the meals should be refunded to him from the general village funds, but the headman decided to do nothing about it. From this situation two factions arose which divided the entire hamlet into two separate communities.

"At first only three households closely related to him supported Raman; but then, after another funeral had occurred in the hamlet, the other people there who were related to those three households, because they were all in the same lineage, found themselves drawn into Raman's faction. At this point the hamlet council, led by the headman, forbad any women to help members of Raman's faction by such duties as working in their fields. Because of this proscription there were a number of women who found themselves forced into joining Raman's faction; they perhaps had no strong feelings about the actual dispute, but they were too poor to forego the Rs. 1½ they were earning as daily laborers in the fields of those people.

"Thus within a few weeks from the start of the grievance typical factional

578 behavior was characterizing interaction in this hamlet: no one was supposed to
621 talk to members of the opposite faction, or to visit their houses and eat with them. (In effect, what had been a single hamlet now took on the organization of two non-communicating but interdigitated villages.) Within two months from the initial funeral there was a complete break-down in hamlet cooperation at the celebration of festivals: each faction celebrated its own, separately from the other. Yet some ten weeks after the dispute had begun, there was already evidence that the factional structure of the social organization was falling apart. The people could no longer maintain a rigid separation between the two factions. Members of one faction were coming around to the back doors of friends in the opposite faction for supposedly secret visits. But everybody knew what was really going on: it was already acceptable behavior to talk to members of the other faction on the street, so long as no interdining occurred.

578 "People in Raman's hamlet recognize that the factional organization is
602 disappearing slowly as the weeks pass. This trend is spear-headed by women from
621 other hamlets who have married into this one. In a number of instances there are pairs of sisters from another hamlet who have married men of opposite factions in this hamlet. Where that is the case, the sisters will feel seriously inconvenienced in being separated by a dispute which does not really concern them; and they will take every opportunity to meet secretly and interact with each other across the cleavage which currently separates their husbands. Nobody in the hamlet really expects the factions to become separated further: these kinship ties will slowly but surely bring the two sides together."

578 By comparison with such frequent and short-term factional disputes as this example, the all-Nilgiri factions are few but long-lived. Altogether only a half-

121 the kinship system in the Badaga case as having developed as a means of assigning and transferring ownership of and rights in property, especially cattle and houses, but to a lesser extent land too. We must remember that [241] in the early days Badagas practised swidden agriculture (although strangely that is not mentioned in the early ballads), and the Nilgiri population density was so low that land really had no market value there and was very easy to come by.

233 Now, keeping a herd of buffaloes requires adequate grazing and certain other conditions. One is the presence of a number of active men, typically brothers, who will keep the herd together while grazing and fend off tigers [539] when possible. Women could not do this work: the epic poem *Ba:la Sevana* [462] ridicules the mother of the hero for trying to drive the family's herd out to graze with a stick in her hand. Both swidden and ordinary plough agriculture 241 also called for the combined efforts of several men (as well as a number of 416 women), and so here too Badagas found a good reason for cultivating their 596 fields as a joint family. Many still do so today. The point to be noted is that both the buffalo-herding and ox-ploughing and swidden cultivation were economic conditions that favoured patrilocality, the joint family, and 182 brother/sister exchange at marriage—this latter a preference which maintained a balance of manpower between two intermarrying families or settlements. If a youth married his FZD and her brother in turn married *his* 581 MBD, brother/sister exchange would result, the ideal of cross-cousin mar- 582 riage would be honoured, the two families involved would have asserted their 583 equality, and close relations would ensue between them. Where brother/ 586 sister exchange has occurred, divorce becomes rather more difficult because it places great strains on the other couple, those who are not getting divorced.

591 The girls in this system invariably go off to another village in marriage 881 at or shortly after menarche, where they will be needed to *(a)* do house-work and look after small children; *(b)* do some sowing, weeding and reaping in 462 the fields; and *(c)* raise a new generation of farmers and buffalo herdsmen. In this married situation the birth of a son means that a woman has largely 602 fulfilled all three of her obligations to the family she has joined—for on [885] marriage a Badaga girl relinquishes membership in her natal family, lineage, [562] and village, and joins those of her husband. Her membership in them is made [851] especially manifest when her husband dies and a son continues to support her in her husband's village; and when she too dies it is her husband's village and its headman who are responsible for conducting her funeral, with the collaboration of her husband's family.

562 The economic decision-making rests with the adult men: when to sow, what to plant in each kind of soil, when and where to move the cattle in search of new grazing, when to harvest, and, in former times, when to move 182 the swidden. These decisions call for accurate topographical knowledge, and it is thus both appropriate and necessary that the detailed local knowledge 562 which boys acquire in work and play should be put to good use when they 591

become householders—in their natal villages, that is. Women are never expected to make such decisions. Hence patrilocality is a principle of survival, a fact which is reinforced by the phenomenon of repeated divorces that might take one woman in her lifetime as a bride to two or three different villages, in each of which she would be something of a novice with regard to the local ecological conditions.

For a male, membership of his father's lineage—whether maximal, major, minor, or minimal—is inalienable. There may nowadays be little or no assertion of the solidarity of an individual with his lineage during his entire lifetime, but yet the tie remains. Some lineages do however still maintain in common a herd of buffaloes.

For females the descent situation is rather less clear. A woman at marriage joins the family and hence the lineage of her husband. This connection is not inalienable, on the other hand, for divorce may easily rupture it. The term for affines *(nantan-natta)* is applied by a man's family to all of his wife's natal family and lineage; it is similarly applied to all the agnatic relatives of any potential wife. This is a commonplace in Dravidian kinship systems. Among Badaga women we also find that a wife calls her own parents and brothers *nantan*, and in anticipation of a certain married future may even use this term in reference to them while she is still a small, unmarried girl, just as her potential husbands would.

3. The Affines

The community based on patrilocal residence is a moral entity in which deference is enforced by authority. Relationships with one's agnates are always extensive and carefully maintained, and this contrasts with the narrowness of affinal relationships. The two categories are further differentiated in behaviour by the fact that a male can be fined by the village headman if he does not show the proper respect due to an agnate, and primarily to a member of his own village; but there is no fine for lack of respect to an affine.

Badagas have a saying, "There is no relationship among affines." This simply means that Ego does not always recognize generation levels among his affines. What *is* important, here as elsewhere in the kinship realm, is the age differential. Take, for example, the unexpected situation (Diagram 1) of

Diagram 1

561 two men, Ego and 'N', who find that they are "sons-in-law" to each other,
602 because Ego is FZH to 'N' but is also a classificatory BS to the wife of 'N'. Thus, if the permitted marriage that Diagram 1 illustrates takes place, the two men do not know how to treat each other according to the rules that normally guide behaviour towards affines. The problem is resolved by determining which man is the older one and is thus entitled to the deference of the other.

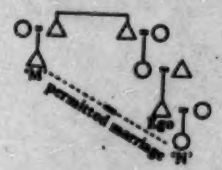

Diagram 2

The same point about the non-recognition of affinal generation levels is brought out in a second example. In Diagram 2 Ego should not show respect to 'M', although the latter is of a superior generation level, because it is permissible for 'M' to marry 'N'. Ego therefore calls 'M', his potential son-in-law, by name instead of by a kin term, as he would otherwise do in addressing an older person. It is important to note that in a society where remarriage is common and polygyny does occur, any married couple can quite probably trace the kin relationship linking them through two or even three different routes. In such a situation, aggravated as it is by the commonness of "cross-generational" marriages, affinal generation levels really become unmanageable concepts, since Ego's spouse could conceivably be assigned to several different generation levels, from his point of view, depending on which way her relationship to him was traced through their kinship field.

593 Rights over the wife as genetrix rest fully with her husband and his
586 lineage. Upon divorcing her he assumes control and responsibility for all of
613 the children she has produced for him, boys and girls, and she is sent back to her father's house (cf. Table 5).

843 The fundamental principle of patriliny finds biological justification in the Badaga theory of conception. In their traditional view, a foetus develops solely from the semen of the father. The only biological role of
611 the mother is a nurturing one, seen as rather analogous to manuring a field.
842 Blood comes to the foetus from the mother's stomach, where it has been made from digested food; and after the delivery her milk also comes from digested food in the stomach. While the mother's role is thus a crucial one in that she feeds the foetus and baby, it is not considered to develop from her flesh at all.

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AW50 Badaga AW50

4. Visiting the Relatives: A Kin-based Institution

All Badagas are expected by their families to visit affinal and agnatic relatives with some regularity. The effect of this requirement is to keep the joint family ideal alive even after a household has broken up, and to sustain the ties with affines from whom one may at any time need either a spouse or a loan of money.

One such rule is that all Badagas must eat with their close relatives at least once a year. "Close relatives" here means those with whom one is involved in the performance of family ceremonies: it hence includes both one's closer agnates and some affines. Accordingly, a family either sends a message that the members are coming to visit some relatives, or will send an invitation for them to visit instead; and such visits involve minimally the eating of one meal. Everybody recognizes that if relatives do not eat together within a twelve-month period, it means that there is some ill-feeling between them. Steps may even be taken by village elders to locate and rectify the source of the friction, so that it may not impede the performance of ceremonies later on. There may of course be other reasons, such as distance or occupation, which make it impossible for relatives to get together; in this case they may still send gifts of food to each other once a year. In the modern day when business or study obligations can make these family feasts difficult to attend, some Badagas go so far as to prepare a special foodstuff before the twelve-month period since the last such feast has elapsed, a foodstuff which can be kept indefinitely and be fed to relatives whenever convenient, even after the twelve-month period is over.

A man visiting his wife's natal home is always an important guest whether or not he has received an invitation to come. Her family are all very respectful to him for fear he decrease the amount of his wife's contacts with them, which he is certainly in a position to do. For all family ceremonies or festivals in their village, they make sure he is among the first to be invited. When younger siblings of his wife are ready for marriage, he is consulted about a spouse, and may intensify the ties between the two families by suggesting his own sibling or parallel cousin. Hence, any villagers noticing that a man does not attend the ceremonies in which his wife's father is involved will conclude that he is snubbing his father-in-law for some reason.

Visits in the other direction, to the house of a married daughter or sister, are much more circumscribed. Her parents will not go to her husband's home without a good reason. They will however make occasional visits there just to emphasize the bond between the two families and to show that the parents still have affection for their daughter. Her brothers should equally have an invitation or a definite purpose for visiting her. In general, her natal family consider it rather lacking in dignity to visit her too often, and they will try to restrict the visits of any brother who seems especially fond of her. Her husband's family may well feel that very frequent visits from her brothers waste a woman's working time and can even become something of an economic drain.

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

TABLE 1
Badaga House Ownership

	Adult males	Adult females
Owns no home, or shares part of one with other relatives	61.8%	72.5%
Owns 1 house	18.9%	13.4%
Owns 2 houses	6.6%	3.4%
Owns 3 houses	3.0%	
Owns 4 houses	2.7%	4.2%
Owns 5-9 houses		0.8%
Owns 10-29 houses	0.3%	0.8%
"Owns 30 or more houses"/d.k.	6.6%	5.0%
	(*N*=301)	(*N*=119)

the men, a fact that is explained by the presence of some uncared-for widows in the sample, and also some unmarried daughters who did not feel like saying they "owned" their fathers' houses.

If a well-to-do man has built a subsidiary house somewhere, that one can be inherited by his eldest son. Failing that, the family home which is inherited and thenceforth owned by the youngest son may still be partitioned between his brothers. They would then be expected to give some rent or property to him in return.

Property is impartible until the owner's death, and then land is to be divided equally between his male heirs. The agreement on partition of the land has to be written down and signed by the beneficiaries. Each gets a registration document *(patta)* from the state government, attested by the village accountant. For partition of other moveable property no documentation is called for: the beneficiaries simply agree to the division in the presence of the headman and some village council members. Occasionally a sick old man may choose to arrange the division amongst his sons while he is still alive.

If a man should happen to die when his wife is pregnant, his property will not be divided until after the delivery; and if a son is born, he too will become one of the inheritors. Thus a young widow will be watched by her husband's relatives for a month after her bereavement to see that she menstruates. They then declare that she is not pregnant, thereby ensuring that she does not afterwards try to pass off an illegitimate son as an heir